

SECRET

MEMORANDUM ON GERMAN PROPAGANDA MINISTRY.
BY
COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL MORALE

July 13, 1942

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- 2 -

CONTENTS

Introduction	3 - 4
A. Establishment of German Propaganda Ministry....	5 - 6
B. Organization of German Propaganda Ministry....	6 - 7
C. Arrangement of Archives.....	7 - 8
D. Observations on Some Classifications in Archives	8 - 16
E. Archives of Prominent Persons	17
F. Foreign and Domestic Newspapers	18
G. Personnel in German Propaganda Ministry.....	18
H. Italian and Spanish Ministries of Propaganda..	18
J. Foreign Propaganda	19 - 20

- 3 -

INTRODUCTION

This Report is based on the following sources:

1. Research material in files of Committee for National Morale.
2. Data obtained from Miss E.¹, who from March, 1933 to October, 1936 was employed as a clerk in the German Propaganda Ministry.
3. Book and articles, the latter appearing in Zeitungswissenschaft and Zeitungsv Verlag devoted to the Propaganda and publishing.

Miss Easton, daughter of high German Official now dead, was introduced to Dr. Goebbels during an outing shortly before the Nazis came to power. The then propaganda chief of the Nazi Party became interested in the young lady who was a member of a good family with patriotic but no reactionary traditions, had an excellent educational background and knew several foreign languages.

A few months later, following Goebbels' appointment to the newly-established Propaganda Ministry Miss E. was assigned as a clerk to the Archives, which occupy the entire basement of the Ministry's Palace on Wilhelmsplatz.

Miss E. worked there under a nephew of the then War Minister Werner von Blomberg. She and six other clerks had complete charge of the files. The fact that only eight persons

¹ Real name on file. (H.F.)

- 4 -

were in charge of the huge system of files is of particular significance. It shows that a comparatively small staff was maintained by the Propaganda Ministry in contrast to certain other propaganda agencies which were overstaffed.

The Archives of the Propaganda Ministry are of particular importance since all German propaganda originates from these Archives which, indeed, are the accumulated files of Propaganda Intelligence Service and contain the co-ordinated material of all information offices, including those which gather and those which disseminate information. Copies of material kept in the files of other Government agencies are also filed here, to enable a complete picture to be obtained of all the activities of the propaganda objective and the utilization of all known facts.

Miss B. left Germany with the permission of the Ministry and, indeed, with the help of the Foreign Office, to come to the United States to collect a modest inheritance here. Once in this country, she refused to return. She has been most active in anti-Nazi activities and may be accepted as an honest and sincere worker for the cause of the Democracies. Despite this, however, no direct work including confidential outgoing material should be entrusted to her.

- 5 -

A. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROPAGANDA MINISTRY.

The Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment (Ministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda) was established by decree, signed by Hitler on March 13, 1933. As head, Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels, Gauleiter of Berlin and head of the Nazi Party's own propaganda machine, was appointed the same day. The Ministry began its activities in April, 1933, using certain existing agencies of the State and the Party as nuclei.

The duties of the Ministry, as stated in the decree, go far beyond those which are commonly associated with propaganda in general, and with this German agency in particular. Indeed, the German Ministry of Propaganda is the agency whose task is the total co-ordination of Germany's cultural activities, the co-ordination of all information, the co-ordination of all intelligence, and the co-ordination of all educational activities insofar as they concern the Nazification of Germany. In practice, this has not been fully accomplished, chiefly because of existing personal and Government inter-departmental jealousies between Goebbels and Goering on the one side, and the Foreign Office and the Propaganda Ministry on the other. However, a smooth and perfect collaboration has been assured in the organization of the Ministry's gigantic archives which, indeed, contain and co-ordinate and file all information reaching the various German agencies, beginning with the clippings from domestic and foreign newspapers to the restricted Intelligence Reports of the German War High Command through the diplomatic notes sent home by the representatives of the German Foreign Office.

- 6 -

This co-ordination of the accumulated information enables the Propaganda Ministry to retain an up-to-date and seemingly omniscient view of the world situation and also to place this material at the disposal of those agencies which, from time to time, use this material. The co-ordination avoids the duplication of Intelligence work and since it is accessible to all Government Agencies and, in certain cases, newspapers, it is indeed the central archives of all Intelligence in all fields, but particularly in the fields of psychological and non-military warfare.

B. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GERMAN PROPAGANDA MINISTRY.

At the beginning of April, 1933, Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels started the then unique Ministry for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment. He had become Minister on March 13, 1933.

As foundation for this new Ministry he requested from the German Foreign Office:

1. Surrender of all material compiled by the German Intelligence Service since the beginning of World War I. Since most of this material referred to earlier dates, he actually received all data from about 1908.

2. Immediate transfer of the Press Division, whose task was to read and to file domestic and foreign comments on all current events both at home and abroad.

- 7 -

Out of these two divisions he created the Archives of the German Reich, housed in the Propaganda Ministry, with the specific task of furnishing each Ministry and every German Official, no matter how important or how unimportant, with the material necessary for their various assignments. Goebbels left it entirely to the archivist-in-charge to decide what to release. Thus, he created a supervision over the activities of other Ministries and Government Officials.

In addition to Germany every country has its own archives. The entire material is listed under the following forty-three headings for Germany as well as for all other countries.

C. ARRANGEMENT OF ARCHIVES. ¹

1. Relations to Other Countries
2. Banks
3. Food
4. Finances
5. Navy
6. Airfleet
7. Peace
8. Territorial and Minority Questions
9. Business and Trade
10. Army
11. Industry
12. Internal Questions
13. Jews
14. Catholics
15. Church
16. Colonies
17. War
18. Art
19. Administration of Counties and States
20. Literature
21. Organization of Foreign States
22. Ministries
23. Chief of the Country

1. In German the headings are in alphabetical order.

24. Parliament
25. Political Parties
26. Press
27. Propaganda
28. Legal Administration
29. Government
30. Administration of Cities and Townships
31. Scandals
32. Social Administration
33. Social Democrats
34. Congresses of Social Democrats
35. Sport
36. Education and Schools
37. Constitution
38. Traffic
39. Insurance
40. Elections
41. Monetary Conditions
42. Economic Conditions
43. Coal

Each heading has many sub-headings. For example, new events in foreign or domestic affairs receive a new number under the main heading if there is no connection with a preceeding division. The archivist-in-charge is solely responsible for the correct numbering and filing of the entire material referring to any event, both domestic and foreign.

D. OBSERVATIONS ON SOME CLASSIFICATIONS IN ARCHIVES

. In the forty-three points in general for Germany and for all Foreign Countries:

1. Relations to Other Countries.

(a) In the Archives of Germany all Foreign Countries are listed in alphabetical order, eg. relations to Albania: under 1/1 (general relations) 1/1a political relations, 1/1b financial relations, and 1/1c economical relations, etc.

- 9 -

(b) In all Foreign Countries the same line is followed. To have a clear and complete picture of the entire foreign policy of Albania every archivist would look up material in his countries with regard to Albania.

2. Banks

(a) Germany: 2/1 the German Banking System in general; 2/2 the German Reichsbank' its (organization, structure etc.); 2/2a statements of the German Reichsbank; 2/3 and the following numbers are for the other prominent German banks, with the same sub-headings.

(b) Foreign Countries: the same listing with reference to the various banks.

3. Food and Questions of Nutrition

(a) Germany and also

(b) Foreign Countries:

This heading lists all about the expectations of the future harvest, the output of the crop, with sub-headings for wheat, corn, potatoes, fats, meat etc. This is very important information from foreign countries to enable Germany to know in advance what to get out of the country when occupied.

4. Fleet

(a) Germany: every single item about War and the Merchant Marine.

Miss E. comments: "Everything put together will give the most complete outline of the foreign policy I ever saw, just as good or even better than Albania knew it herself."

- 10 -

(b) Foreign Countries: the same, also all naval bases, or places which could be transformed into them such as Gibraltar, Malta, Panama-Canal etc.

5. Airfleet

(a) Germany: Commercial and War planes, airbases, airdromes, plants, air-raid-precautions, etc.

(b) foreign countries: the same.

6. Territorial and Minority Questions

(a) Germany: since Hitler resumed power all former territories belonging to Germany before the World War I (Danzig, Alsace-Lorraine, part of Poland, Belgium, Denmark etc.) are listed as already belonging to Germany again. Another sub-heading in this group i.e. "Germans abroad" is very important. Here are listed all Nazi Agents and Organizations, e.g. a German archivist is requested to look for information about the German American Bund not in the archives of U.S.A. but in the archives of Germany under "Germans abroad" or "Germans in U.S.A.". Although Fritz Kuhn and the Bundmembers are American citizens they are considered in Germany to be Germans living abroad. Another main point is the sub-heading: "Movements of Germans abroad in Stuttgart."

(b) In Foreign Countries: this point is Hitler's so-called NEW ORDER. From the start of the Propaganda Ministry all Foreign Countries are divided into parts, according to a future Peace, dictated by a victorious Germany. Albania

- 11 -

and part of Yugoslavia are always under Italy, part of the West Coast, all Asia with the exception of India under Japan, the French Colonies are divided between Italy and Spain, part of U.S.A. from Ohio to the Great Lakes as a German Protectorate for future trouble, Kamchatka to Japan, air bases for Alaska etc.

7. Army

(a) Germany: Rearmament, fortifications, garrisons, maneuvers, morale, etc.

(b) Foreign Countries: the same. In addition, copies of the main fortifications, eg: in the archives of France a map of the Maginot Line, kept up-to-date by the German War Ministry, spies, plans, for future invasion, etc.

8. Internal Conditions

(a) Germany: morale of the Germans, strikes, unemployment etc.

(b) Foreign Countries: One of the main points for an effective propaganda. It lists all the strikes, riots, revolutions, morale, unemployment, defeatists, etc. The propaganda exercised is two-fold:

1) For propaganda in Germany by furnishing ample material for the German Press to make comparisons between the industrious and united Germany and the rotten Democratic countries.

2) Various organizations in Foreign Countries are advised according to the material available to use every influence to increase dissatisfaction among the population, and undermine the faith in the Foreign Government. Nothing in the internal conditions of any Foreign Country is too unimportant not to have some importance for German propaganda.

9. Jews

In Germany and in Foreign Countries a very important point, with a thorough check-up on the activities of Jewish organization, Jewish statesman, financiers, lawyers, rabbis etc.

10. Catholicism

(a) Germany: no point, the entire material is given to the Archives of the Vatican, a rather large archive with more than 320 sub-headings. It has also duplicates from the Catholics in all Foreign Countries.

(b) Foreign Countries: only the most important issues are kept in the archives of the Foreign Countries themselves, the rest and copies are all filed under Vatican, the outline of the destruction of Catholicism in Germany and throughout the world is also kept there with special emphasis on progress made thus far.

- 13 -

11. Church

(a) Germany: this point means for Germany only Protestantism. A very large point, including the destruction of the Church in Germany.

(b) Foreign countries: the different creeds are listed separately, with reference of their future abolition.

12. Colonies

(a) Germany: all colonies, formerly belonging to Germany, their roads, trade, population etc. regardless of present owner.

(b) Foreign Countries: all Colonies with regard to future annexation and exploitation by Germany.

13. War

(a) Germany: military strategy in the World War I; secret information; the major heading is "Future War".

(b) Foreign Countries: the same: In addition, all recent wars with the German role in them; duplicates of the various plans for invasion and occupation, etc.

14. Art

(a) Germany: and (b) Foreign Countries. Both alike including all the news about the theatre, museums, art-galleries, architecture, films, and all exhibitions. For Foreign Countries as they were to look for precious art objects;

- 14 -

15. Administration of Counties and States

- (a) Germany: the various States such as Prussia, Bavaria etc.
- (b) Foreign Countries: their States and Counties.

16. Literature

For Germany and Foreign Countries alike everything obtainable.

17. Organization of Foreign States

- (a) Germany: all treaties with Foreign Countries such as Rapallo etc.
- (b) Foreign Countries: all treaties between one country and another. Also the entire material at the League of Nations from the very beginning.

18. Ministeries

- (a) Germany: not of much importance now under the Nazi regime.
- (b) Foreign Countries: of greatest importance. Every chance and shake-up is being watched for a possibility of influencing the new set-up.

19. Political Parties

- (a) Germany: now only codes of all Nazi party issues and decrees.
- (b) Foreign Countries: all political parties are listed. The Nazi-influenced are easily recognized by filing in red folders.

Special section of the paper and other papers.

(a) Germany: the entire material for the section of the Propaganda Ministry. see above.

(b) Foreign Countries: all countries are divided into pro- and anti-Nazi propaganda, countless sub-sections under each country. The entire material is used by Section VII. of the Propaganda Ministry called "Foreign Propaganda and against Foreign Lies".

22. Legal Conditions

New and already existing laws in Germany and in Foreign Countries, their interpretation with a view to Germany getting out of any entanglement.

23. Government

(a) Germany: meetings of the Cabinet; German Officials in Foreign Countries.

(b) Foreign Countries: meetings and shake-ups of Cabinet with special reference as to how to win influence in the new Cabinet; also Foreign Officials in Germany.

24. Materials

- (a) Germany: completely sufficient.
- Hitler, although plenty of material will be available.
- (b) Foreign Countries: all material, particularly which might be of future use as black propaganda, a person to Nazism or in case of occupation serve as a for ransom. Society columns in newspapers and magazines are sifted material.

25. Social Democrats

- (a) Germany: no material.
- (b) Foreign Countries: all Marxist political parties and organizations including the Communists, their influence on labor unions, their memberships, their leaders etc.

26. Traffic

- (a) Germany: roads, both land and sea, copies of Merchant Marine handbooks, radio, etc.
- (b) Foreign Countries: the same.

27. Elections

- (a) Germany: the election polls, not faked, showing plainly that Hitler never had a majority.
- (b) Foreign Countries: all elections.

28. Monetary Conditions

- Foreign Countries: an important point since the gold standard is listed there.

- 17 -

F. ARCHIVES ON PROMINENT PERSONS.

Each archive for Germany and all Foreign Countries have in addition to the above point's large so-called "Archive of Prominent Persons". Everything relating to such an individual is filed. For all very prominent and not beloved persons, such as President Roosevelt, a special index is made and speeches are kept separately with all foreign and domestic press comments.

The entire material is filed so that the latest date appears first when opening the file.

The material consists of:

- (a) Newspaper clippings, both domestic and foreign.
- (b) Magazine clippings.
- (c) Telegrams of German reporters in Foreign Countries.

(1) Code telegrams from German Officials, Agents and spies in Foreign Countries decoded and signed with the name of the decoder. These are kept in the Foreign Office in fire-proof steel compartments only to be opened by special dialing.

(e) "Blue telegrams" printed on blue paper after having been decoded, highly confidential.

Only one copy was kept of (d) and (e), the others had to be sealed in special envelopes for the archives and burnt personally each day in the furnace of the Ministry.

(f) Private correspondence of the various external paragraphs in the Ministry.

- 18 -

F. FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC NEWSPAPERS

"Newspaper Archive," every newspaper of the slightest importance throughout the world, is filed. All German newspapers and all magazines, both Foreign and German are kept for use in case articles have not been cut out, as not of value at that particular time. At least five complete copies are kept on file.

G. PERSONNEL IN PROPAGANDA MINISTRY

Each archivist has a secret telephone number on which every Ministry and Official can call and they also have a list of all the other secret Government connections. In addition to reading and filing the archivists also have to supply all requests from other offices. Every worker is on a twenty-four hour shift.

H. ITALIAN AND SPANISH MINISTRIES OF PROPAGANDA

The same general system has been adopted entirely by the Italian Ministry of Propaganda. The beginning of July, 1936 Alfieri received necessary information from our informant. On January 27, 1937 she also supplied Francisco Franco, cousin of the Spanish Dictator, with the same information to be used for propaganda throughout the Spanish-speaking world, especially in South America.¹

1. Miss E. states: "I am willing to set up in the shortest time possible the same office here, functioning with German efficiency and able to counteract German propaganda effectively, provided that the people who are running it later know at least three foreign languages in addition to their native tongue. I want to make it clear that I do it solely for the benefit of my future country; it is the only way to cut the life-line of German propaganda."

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA

Early in July, 1933 Goebbels created Section VII, whose task is Foreign Propaganda on the largest scale possible. Each country has its own expert and its own stenographers, who in most cases leave the office after a short but excellent training to take a position at a German Embassy or Consulate.

In addition to these highly trained employees the Ministry sends to all countries experts in propaganda falsely listed as belonging to the staff of the Foreign Office but really on the payroll of the Propaganda Ministry. In Latin America they are called Press Attaches.

Von Gienandt here was one of them in connection with Laura Ingalls. If the contact between them can be proved she is a German Agent no matter how innocent she says she is.

One of the duties of these experts is to distribute the more for propaganda, to inspect the various camps and to encourage and camouflage pro-Nazi organizations in Foreign Countries.

In October, 1935, Goebbels created the most formidable office, under the directorship of Army-Major von Wrochem with a liaison-officer to the German War Ministry a Mr. Doebbelin. The task of this office was and is, in collaboration with the archives, to do the groundwork:

1. Extensive propaganda in the German Army and population to prepare the nation for War.

2. Propaganda in Foreign archives, with the following sub-headings:

- (a) An elaborate propaganda against war with Germany, who through her rearmament is and will be invincible.
- (b) Creation of a feeling against any kind of war.
- (c) Careful watch of the wars from that time on (Italian-Abyssinian, Spanish, Chinese, Great China,) to find how propaganda works in war times taking notes of possible mistakes and reporting them at once to prevent possible mistakes by Germany.
- (d) Observation of the efficiency of sanctions and blockade, with counter-propaganda by saying they merely affect the innocent women and children.
- (e) Careful reading and study of all the foreign comments on the use of poison gas.
- (f) Propaganda to keep under all circumstances the youth of military age from joining the Army; special mention of U.S.A. and England.
- (g) The archivists had to establish at once in every foreign archive special sub-headings to file the name and location of every already working and newly-established factory which would be used in war time for the production of war material. As reasons for this measure Goebbels and von Brocken gave: to have a complete set-up for future sabotage ready in the shortest time possible; and to have a complete picture where to stage strikes and unrest among the workers to hamper production.

April 23, 1942

MEMORANDUMPolitical Prospects Campaign
in Germany

I believe that the time is due (if not overdue) for an all-out political campaign to upset the Nazi Government in Germany. The conditions appear favorable, and there is a very fair chance of a successful outcome. On the other hand, the risk is negligible.

Underlying Conditions

It will be recalled that the German political overturn in 1918 began well after but before the defeat of the German armies in the field. A movement to create "armies" and the slight evidences of internal revolt appeared in the Spring of 1918, that is to say, before the main drive began. This drive was by no means defeated in July of 1918; yet in that month the first division revolted. From that time there was progressive deterioration until the revolution in October.

Assuming the same conditions prevail now, and for the time present.

Although the German armies are successful in the military sense, the underlying situation appears to have

deteriorated

-4-

deteriorated to a point where defeat or disintegration seems almost certain unless peace is made, giving Germany access to supplies from the Eastern Hemisphere prior to the end of this year. No other possibility appears to be in sight. I believe that not only the German High Command and the senior staff planners know this, but that this knowledge has already filtered to the second-line administrators and to their assistants. With a little propaganda assistance, the facts might become generally known.

The significant facts appear to be these:

In December 1940 the economic situation of Germany was reviewed by order of the General Staff. We have these Staff documents. Their conclusion was that unless Germany could, within the year 1941, achieve a victory which gave access to supplies, there would not be sufficient production and reserves to feed and clothe the civilian population through 1942, nor would there be reserves sufficient to carry the country through the winter of 1942-43. A careful estimate was made of the rationing which would have to be instituted early in 1942 for the country to get along at all; and this did not provide for the still further deterioration in 1943.

On the basis of these studies it was determined to attack Russia. The plan contemplated the complete defeat of Russia in the year 1941; the use of the year 1942 to

organize

-8-

exploit the Russian resources, and thereby to meet the need which would become desperate at the end of the year 1942.

The attack on Russia failed to achieve its objective, despite its considerable measure of military success; and all Germany knows this. It is probable that the economic implications of the failure are not fully realized.

A victory by Germany over Russia in the year 1942 cannot accomplish the objective of the original plan of December 1940. Even if it be assumed (as I do not) that the German armies are able to achieve the complete collapse of the Soviet Union, it is already plain that that operation will take at least a considerable part of the summer of 1942. The possibility of exploiting Russian resources will not exist. The best estimates I can get indicate that at least a year's work will be required before tangible results can be achieved, since there will be substantially no stocks to capture, and Russia herself will be in straits. On the most favorable assumption of Germany, namely, a swift and complete victory over Russia, she could not begin the work of exploitation much before September of 1942, and could not expect to achieve results much before the middle of 1943.

Her poor present condition and her reserves do not give her much more time.

It is true that the German experts insisted on cutting

the

-4-

The German food ration in January to 85% of the 1941 ration. The political people felt that this was impossible, and finally compromised by setting the ration in February 1942 to 80% of the 1941 ration. It was recognized at that time that this was insufficient, and that the only effect could be to use up more rapidly the now somewhat slender reserves which the German Government had accumulated.

It must further be noted that the food situation in Germany as of April 1942 is less favorable than the forecast made by the staff planners in December 1940. This is principally because the supplies used in the Russian campaign were greater than expected, and because the severity of the winter of 1941-42, taken with the increasing shortage of labor, resulted in lower harvests than normal. The degree of shortage is, of course, not evenly spread over all commodities, but in the aggregate the picture is perhaps less favorable for the year 1942 than had been estimated in December 1940.

It would seem therefore that the failure to achieve victory in 1941 means that a German victory over Russia in 1942, even if achieved (which I doubt) would be fruitless, such as was the German victory over Russia in 1917.

A second factor lies in the losses to the German army. There has been a discrepancy between the British estimates and our own. The British insist that 120 German divisions

-4-

divisions have been used up and broken on the Russian front. The American Staff Command does not grant so much, but the State Department's information and the surrounding circumstances tend to confirm the British rather than the American estimate.

Our own best estimate of German losses (killed, missing and severely wounded) amounts to about 2,000,000. This is almost exactly the strength of 170 German divisions. In addition to this, there must be counted the less severely wounded. Account has not been taken of the fact that front-line divisions which wintered out the Russian campaign are probably in bad physical shape.

An indication of the losses is had from the fact that in or about January 1942 the Germans called up for military service the boys of 17, 18 and 19, and men from 31 to 34. These are being brigaded with the divisions, probably for second-line work, but they introduce a very large new element of relatively untrained men (they were actually given some weeks of training prior to being brigaded). This was done even over the protests of the supply people who insisted that the German munitions industry and even the farm production would be hampered.

Practically any German officer knows that slightly trained men, if they actually are engaged, suffer an extremely high casualty rate. The deaths on the Russian front

front

-4-

front have been so widespread and are so widely known in Germany that there is already evidence leading to the belief that contingents sent to the east consider that they are probably condemned to death. Already the morale factor in that sense is beginning to deteriorate.

In summary, it is therefore an army into which have been introduced roughly a million more or less untrained men of unskilled age, whose very presence is notice both to the German civilian population and to the German army that the country is beginning to get into straits.

A third factor is the obviously growing concern of Germany at the British bombing. This, relatively ineffective in the year 1941, has begun to be extremely serious in the west of Germany. In part it has contributed to the growing economic disorganization (it will be recalled that the German Staff plan assumed that the Anglo-American air forces would destroy much of German industries). In large part, it has at length proved to Germany that her civilian population is not immune from direct military attack.

Political Factors

The political factors implicit in this situation are more obscure, but such evidence as we have indicates that they are beginning to be serious.

It is fairly well established that one group of German generals has been actively considering the possibility of a change

-7-

change of government as to place Germany in a better position to make peace. This is not to indicate that I think any kind of peace could be made with the German militarists -- which I think would be disastrous -- but merely to point out that in that respect, conditions are somewhat similar to those which prevailed in the Spring of 1918.

It is also already clear that Germany is cautiously seeking some avenue by which she can open peace negotiations, and is gradually adapting her propaganda to that end. Again, this is only interesting as showing the lack of confidence which the German Government has in its own position.

It is interesting to note that reading of the Japanese-German intercepts makes it plain that Germany has given up any real hope that Japan will be of any great assistance to her in this regard. Indeed, her feeling towards peace is itself in the nature of a betrayal of the Japanese interest.

Germanic sources continually report the search for the nucleus of a new German Government. Originally it seems they were thinking of a military clique; later advisers speak of their attempt to set up a civilian group based on the old civil servants who have survived.

Finally, we have indisputable evidence of the growing corruption and disorganization of the German administrative and governing machinery. General Albrecht reported

112

-3-

his ability to purchase, in German-occupied Poland, arms sufficient to equip 4 divisions. Isolated indications of a somewhat similar situation in France suggest that there also the German political machinery is coming to be in bad shape.

It may be noted that the recent elevation of the S.S. (Hitler's Guards) as a separate arm suggests that the Nazi Government is itself worried about the situation.

Finally, it may be noted that the timeliness of a political attack was recognized by Stalin in his January speech, and was clearly echoed shortly thereafter by Anthony Eden.

Political Factors in the German Situation

In German-occupied Europe the political situation is increasingly adverse.

The attempt of the Quisling Government to secure domination over the religious and educational institutions of Norway seems to have provoked a crisis.

The entry of Laval into the French Cabinet, coupled with the execution of many hostages by the German military in occupied France seems to have intensified the feeling there.

General Mikoyan reports a growing organization in Poland. The Russian resistance has never been thoroughly broken.

-4-

broken. We know that Hungary resisted sending troops to the Russian front this year because of the losses in the previous campaign; she seems to have been coerced into sending 22 divisions but this undoubtedly means a further political strain.

The difficulty between Rumania and Hungary is obviously at a high temperature; the Hungarians are themselves in no very happy frame of mind.

The political disintegration in Italy has likewise proceeded apace.

In the main, all of these situations are exacerbated by the growing civilian hardship.

Outline of Political Campaign

I believe that the political campaign should be built up as follows:

1. The President should make a statement roughly analogous in content to that made by President Wilson in his so-called "Flag Day Speech". This indicated that the German people would be preserved, but that Kaiserism would have to go.

At present, the statement would have to be modified. It still should announce that there was no desire to massacre or wipe out the German people; and that they would be included in the peace plans. This could, and I think should,

+ 10 +

should be based on the phrase in the Atlantic Charter stating that the advantages of the post-war plans should be available to vanquished as well as victors.

The statement would have to call for something more than mere elimination of the present German Government. It would have to call for the elimination of the Nazi rulers, and for swift and severe justice executed against Goebbels and S.S. units, and against the agents of internal oppression in the occupied countries.

There is reason to believe that such a statement would be welcome not only to the bulk of the German army, but to very large elements in the population.

The statement should likewise stress freedom of religion, appealing to the Catholics and the Hindenburg group.

2. This statement, once made, should be hammered into Germany for a considerable period of time by radio, through the national press, etc.

3. The actual situation of Germany ought to be stated over the radio in the simplest possible terms. I myself would favor the textual use of parts of the Staff plan of 1940, with its dismal predictions for 1942, to which should be added the facts we now know which are known to every German, pointing out that the military and other arrangements already existing for the annihilation of the population forecast --
indicating

- 11 -

indicating the fact that the situation is worse even than the German Staff expected.

4. The rising might of the British, the Americans and the Russians ought to be put in the air. A concise indication should be included that the President's January speech regarding America's air efforts is actually being carried out.

5. Certain of the better authenticated incidents such as the killing of German wounded by Germans rather than bringing them home for hospitalization, ought likewise to be stressed; and with that might be broadcast details about the lack of anesthesia for the wounded, etc.

6. Combined with this there should be a development over the whole of the thesis in the Atlantic Charter: freedom from want, freedom from fear, and a continuous and renewed insistence that Germans freed from Nazi slavery would be included in the program.

7. The inevitability of the British and American air and military forces attacking every individual German town ought to be carried on.

Technical Details

Certain technical matters ought to be tied up:

I have been told that most of the German army are now fitted with headphones and portable radio receivers, since

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- 12 -

the German orders are transmitted in this way. I am likewise told that it is possible to handle short-wave broadcasting so that it reaches these receivers. It is thus possible to talk directly to considerable segments of the German Army.

The precise arguments addressed to particular segments of the German Army can be developed at length. One of them would be that the Japanese, if they are victorious, do not contemplate giving the slightest help to Germany.

